

Discussion Paper about planning for an independent East Timor

About this Discussion Paper

1. This is a discussion paper for the benefit of East Timorese people. It concerns aspects of planning for a new East Timor, in all areas EXCEPT government.

2. The starting point for this discussion paper has been twofold:

a) As a result of 23 years of Indonesian occupation there are many deficiencies in East Timor which have to be rectified. An example of this is the current state of health. There is a extensive backlog of work that needs to be urgently undertaken.

b) The formation of a self-governing country is a far wider and more intricate undertaking than merely determining the form of government. It involves every aspect of management of a country. The process and detail of managing a country needs wise, careful and long-term planning.

This discussion paper therefore is based on the deficiencies of today, and the need to plan in depth for tomorrow.

3. One way of compiling a discussion paper such as this is to make a list of all the tasks that need to be undertaken in order to establish a government administration, e.g. set up a banking system, develop a five year health plan. The compilers of this paper decided not to adopt this approach, for fear that it may be too abstract. Rather they have adopted the approach of giving certain concrete, precise planning targets, for instance, assess the potential for hydro electricity from Lake Ira Lalaro, repatriate Indonesian civil servants. In other words, a particular model has been given. To formulate a discussion paper using a particular model necessitates adopting certain principles and certain philosophical assumptions. The compilers have done this. However it must be stressed that this model is certainly not the only one, and not necessarily the most appropriate one. It is just one way of displaying the task at hand, in all its depth and intricacy. East Timorese leaders, readers and planners will disagree with aspects of this model, and in doing so, will disagree with each other. In this way, therefore, the discussion paper will serve as a positive way of stimulating thinking and promoting discussion about a new East Timor.

4. Clearly a discussion paper such as this, which presents one particular model, will have many imperfections and limitations. It is not the last step in a long line of planning meetings, but rather, the first step. It is not the result of the discussions of many people, but rather, of a few. However in spite of these limitations, it is hoped that it will give an opportunity for East Timorese to do three things:

a) to see the size of the task. The paper has deliberately tried to be comprehensive.

b) to see the inter-connectedness of the elements of a country. For instance, a decision about health will have repercussions for the economy, a decision about tourism will have repercussions on the environment, and so on

c) to determine priorities in building up a new independent East Timor. Because there is so much to be done, choices will have to be made about money priorities (which area gets most money), and time priorities (which area gets attention first).

5. This paper has been developed on the premise that East Timor will be an independent sovereign state. If East Timor becomes an autonomous province within Indonesia, then some aspects of this plan can be implemented immediately, but others will have to wait until the attainment of full independence.

6. This paper has been formulated by East Timor International Support Centre, and written by people who are non-East Timorese, but have a wide knowledge of present-day conditions in East Timor.

Why this paper has been formulated

In 1975 East Timor was on the point of being decolonised by Portugal and assuming some form of self-government. This process was interrupted by Indonesia's invasion and incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia. Although East Timor is still a de facto province of Indonesia, there are winds of change in Indonesia. On the one hand Foreign Minister Alatas has promised a "wide-ranging autonomy" for East Timor, on the other hand there are increasing and vociferous demands for a referendum and total independence. In this political climate the emphasis of the debate has centred on who holds the reins of power, whilst discussion about the management of East Timor in the non-political field has been sparse. In view of approaching political changes, there is now an urgent need to turn attention to managing the new East Timor, in the non-political as well as the political field. This paper aims to focus on this need.

The need for an immediate start to planning

1) In view of the volatility of the Indonesian political and economic situation, there is a possibility that autonomy or independence may come as early as 1999. Much planning in the non-political field needs to be done before then.

2) Planning takes a long time, therefore it is important to start the procedure as soon as possible, whether autonomy/independence comes in 1999, or in 10 years' time.

Possible ways for using this discussion paper as a base for proceeding to higher levels of planning

1) Circulate this paper to a wide range of East Timorese people of all ages throughout the world, without trying to restrict its distribution or discussion.

2) Emphasise the need to establish, in the near future, a Planning Board which will start the process of making decisions about the new East Timor.

3) Establish a Planning Board which will seek inputs from a broad spectrum of East Timorese people about the Principles, Key Decisions, and Planning Targets which are necessary for the new East Timor. East Timorese people themselves must determine these. This paper can be used as a guide.

4) The Planning Board would benefit from asking for expert advice in all of these fields of development, but before the experts start work, they should be given their "Terms of Reference" by the Planning Board, so that they know the limits and focus of their advice. There should be Expert Teams in all fields eg law, health, agriculture/animal husbandry etc. At least two East Timorese should be on each Expert Team.

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Contents:

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1. Principles

East Timor will be:

1. A country which promotes regional harmony

- a) Become a United Nations member,
- b) Focus upon regional neighbourliness, with applications for membership with ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), and the South Pacific Forum.
- c) Foster strong ties with democratic New Zealand and Australia.
- d) Treat Portuguese speaking countries, such as Brazil, Mozambique, Angola and Portugal as cultural neighbours.
- e) Project no excessive nationalism, no flag-touting. ET already feels distinct.

2. A democratic country.

- a) Establish a multi-party democracy. This means real democracy, not a one-party democracy, not a rigged democracy.
- b) Establish a judicial system which is independent of the ET government.
- c) Freedom of speech
- d) Freedom of movement and association
- e) Develop a decentralised country, with some powers given to district legislatures and villages - a country in which ordinary people are listened to, and have a voice.

3. A peace-promoting country.

- a) No armed forces.
- b) No private guns within ET borders. Disputes to be solved legally.
- c) Reconciliation within East Timor. Vigorously promote reconciliation amongst citizens, who have for years been forcibly divided by the Indonesian army.
- d) A multi-religious society. No religious dogmatism.

4. A developing country.

- a) Actively develop oil and minerals, farmland, tree crops, coffee, cattle, fisheries, and tourist attractions.
- b) Self-reliant as much as possible. Develop appropriate technology.
- c) Open to foreign trade and investment.

5. A caring country - which cares for its people

- a) Give good quality education to all. Free public education. Abolish illiteracy in 20 years.
- b) Give people back their health. Free medicines (within limits).
- c) Help people to gain employment
- d) Help people to derive a livelihood from their land.
- e) Value people's daily culture, and their many languages. Allow the people to again become the guardians of their own languages and culture.
- f) Eradicate poverty. Establish a poverty line.
- e) Give all citizens close access to water.

- f) Establish government services which are user friendly - in offices, schools, clinics. Government to be seen to be on the side of the people, who have for so long seen all authority as something fearful.
- g) Establish a far-reaching skills development programme, so that East Timor has sufficient skilled personnel for present and future needs.

2. Key Decisions

1. What will be the official language of East Timor?

The choice of an official language for East Timor is a very important decision which must be made before other decisions are made. This decision will:

- a) help to define East Timor's image of itself
- b) orient East Timor towards particular overseas countries, and away from others
- c) have important financial costs (eg some languages will be more expensive to implement than others).

For this document the official language of East Timor means:

- a) the language - spoken and written - of all East Timor government communication
- b) the language which is used for teaching in all schools and all schoolbooks.

There are 4 languages that are relevant to East Timor's history and current needs.

1. Tetum
2. Portuguese
3. Indonesian
4. English

There are 6 factors which are useful in assessing each language's appropriateness as an official language:

1. Already known. How many East Timorese already know the language?
2. Books. Are there books, courses and trained teachers available to teach the language to those who do not already know it?
3. Learnability. Is the language learnable, through its availability to East Timorese today, e.g. through being spoken by many people, or heard on radio/TV?
4. Emotional attachment. Does the language make people feel good or uneasy? What is the emotional attachment to the language?
5. Availability of overseas help. Can East Timor get help from other countries with learning the language, teaching the language and producing books in the language?
6. Language of unity. Is the language useful as a language of unity within (1) the region, (2) the world?

It will be difficult to make the decision about East Timor's official language, but it must be made soon. Many other decisions depend upon the language decision. It is difficult because there is no one language which obviously satisfies all East Timor's needs. Each of the 4 languages have advantages; each has disadvantages. The decision should involve as many people as possible, and be the subject of workshops and seminars. A unilateral decision by a "government" could lead to significant opposition by the people.

To consider this issue it will be helpful to write down the 4 languages across the top of a page, then write the 6 determining factors down the side of the page. Fill in the 24 spaces as factually as possible, and discuss

2. Which countries will be East Timor's main partners?

East Timor will need much assistance from other countries.

1) It is not necessary to rely upon only one country for assistance, however it may be wise to limit the number of countries. Too much money can be spent in seeking assistance from many countries. In addition, confusion can reign if too many advisors from different countries arrive in East Timor, with different emphases and with different languages. Advisers sometimes argue among themselves, so little progress is made.

2) East Timor's choice of an official language will go some way towards determining from where the assistance comes. East Timor's choice of language is a critical factor in the direction in which East Timor travels. For instance the choice of Portuguese as the official language would limit the degree to which Australia could help. The choice of Indonesian would encourage the involvement of Indonesian government and people in East Timor.

a) Which countries are the best equipped and most willing to assist?

Five countries are mentioned below, as being countries which seem best equipped and most oriented towards East Timor. They are Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, Philippines, Portugal. Other countries not mentioned below could be considered eg Brazil (Portuguese speaking), Malaysia (quite close and Malay/English speaking), Canada (has given much aid to East Timor). Six criteria are used to assist in making judgements about the appropriateness and value of each country. These are:

- a) Distance from ET
- b) Language
- c) Similarity of lifestyle to ET
- d) Historic links with ET
- e) Sympathy towards ET
- f) Capacity to help

Australia

Distance from ET: Close

Language: English

Similarity of lifestyle to ET: Very different

Historic links with ET: Yes. 1942-1943, 1945, and 1970s onwards

Sympathy towards ET: Australia government - none. Australia people - lots.

Capacity to help: Very great

New Zealand

Distance from ET: Quite close

Language: English

Historic links with ET: None

Similarity of lifestyle to ET: Very different, though Maori people have similarities

Sympathy towards ET: Government and people, though feeling distant, are sympathetic to ET

Capacity to help: Very great

Indonesia

Distance from ET: Very close

Language: Indonesian

Historic links with ET: Many negative links since 1975

Similarity of lifestyle to ET: Very similar

Sympathy towards ET: Indonesian government extremely hostile. Indonesian people unsympathetic.

Capacity to help: Small capacity, and assistance is poor in quality.

Philippines

Distance from ET: Quite close

Language: English and Tagalog

Historic links with ET: None

Similarity of lifestyle to ET: Very similar

Sympathy towards ET: Not known. But it is the most democratic country in South East Asia.

Capacity to help: Medium capacity (not rich, but good level of skills)

Portugal

Distance from ET: Very distant

Language: Portuguese, already known by some East Timorese

Historic links with ET: Linked on imperial-colony basis from 16th century till 1975.

Similarity of lifestyle to ET: Very different

Sympathy towards ET: Government - superficially sympathetic. People - feel very distant.

Capacity to help: Some capacity.

b) What forms of assistance does East Timor need?

1. Education

Educational administrators

Curriculum writers

Advisers to teachers

Secondary school teachers

Lecturers at University and Polytechnic

Lecturers in Primary School Training College

Scholarships to Overseas Universities

2. Health

Health administrators

Specialists (visiting)

Doctors

Lecturers in Health Education (Nursing Academy and Health Worker School)

Scholarships for doctors to train overseas

3. Trade, Aid, and Foreign Relations

Defence Treaty with a country which will protect East Timor. Australia and New Zealand are best suited to this.

Aid is needed in huge quantities.

4. Finance

Finance administrators

Economists

Taxation specialists

5. Law

Legal administrators and prosecutors

Police administrators and advisers

Lecturers in Police College
Scholarships for lawyers to train overseas
Advisers in Intelligence Security
Legal draughtsmen
Lawyers to develop the new ET law code, which has been borrowed from another country, and make it appropriate for ET, including East Timorese customary law.
Lawyers to teach the new ET law code to practising lawyers in East Timor.

6. Other areas combined
Advisers in the following fields:

Migration
Land
Environment
Development
Agriculture
Animal Husbandry
Fisheries
Water
Power
Mining and Energy
Tourism
Employment
Business
Transport
Communication
Local Government

3. Planning Targets

Indonesian administration in East Timor has been deficient in two areas:

- a) the welfare of the people, as expressed in their need for (1) education, (2) health, (3) employment and social support.
 - b) the development of the livelihood of the people, as in (1) agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries, (2) water and power, (3) mining and energy, (4) tourism.
- Compensation will therefore be given to these two areas, in terms of planning priority and funding.

Welfare of people

1. Education
2. Health
3. Employment and Social Support

Development of people's livelihood

4. Development
5. Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Fisheries
6. Water and Power
7. Mining and Energy
8. Tourism

Other

9. Trade, Aid, and Foreign Relations
10. Finance
11. Law

12. Migration
13. Land
14. Environment
15. Business
16. Transport and Communication
17. Local Government
18. Culture, Youth, Sport, Media
19. Religion

These 19 fields of activity may later develop into government departments.

1. Education

Under the Portuguese there were few funds and few schools, but quality was high. Under the Indonesians, there was education for many, but no quality. East Timor needs quantity and quality.

1. Attract and train more and better-trained teachers and lecturers.
2. Develop a competitive scholarship scheme for senior high school and tertiary education students.
3. Make class books available, at no cost, to all schools up to the end of Junior High School (JHS).
4. Subsidise education (school fees and uniforms, up to end of Junior High School).
5. Develop a compulsory national East Timor curriculum, but with an allowance for additional options which can be determined by individual schools.
6. Make schooling compulsory till the end of Junior High School (usually 9 years), but with financial subsidies.
7. Don't give subsidies to Senior high school students. Give competitive scholarships instead.
8. Develop special subsidies for language teaching/learning (teacher training, materials etc). This is relevant for establishing an official national language.
9. Establish high level funding for the University of East Timor:
 - a) student scholarships
 - b) research grants
 - c) lecturer salaries
 - d) library
 - e) equipment
 - f) possible increase in number of faculties
10. Increase in number of places at Primary School Training College, Dili
11. Establish a university college at Baucau (part of the University of East Timor).
12. Develop a scholarship scheme for overseas tertiary study - but with an obligation to return to East Timor for 3 years after graduation.

2. Health

Government in Indonesia and East Timor allocates to health only half of what is allocated to education. People are very prone to sickness and early death. Disabilities and mental health are major problems, whilst the inability of East Timorese to access the few resources supplied is a major deficiency.

1. Attract and train more doctors
2. Attract and train more and better-trained nurses and midwives
3. Increase the number of places at Health Worker Schools in Dili and Baucau. These are 3-year schools at the same level as senior high school.
4. Establish a Nursing Academy. This is for adults.
5. Develop a regular visiting specialist system - for:
 - a) general surgery

- b) specialist surgery for people with disabilities
- c) trauma and torture victims
- 6. Establish visiting travelling health teams which in the early days will endeavour to have a high-level impact on people's health.
- 7. Subsidise health services, through a National Health Service - to include doctor's consultations, specialist consultations, obstetrics, pathology, surgery, anaesthetics, and optometry.
- 8. Subsidise drugs, through a Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme
- 9. Increase the number of small village clinics, and extend the number of days they are open. This means a simultaneous increase in numbers of nurses.
- 10. Establish a major Mother and Child Welfare campaign, to reduce mother and child mortality, and mother and child morbidity.
- 11. Aim to increase, within a 10 year timespan, the current East Timorese life expectancy of approximately 55 years, to 60 years.
- 12. Abolish all target figures for family planning, but give contraceptive advice and service on request.
- 13. Develop a specialist Veteran, Disability and Psychiatric Unit in one of the hospitals, for ex-fighters, trauma and torture sufferers, and others. The current military hospital, being on a hillside, might be well-suited.

3. Employment and Social Support

Indonesia has institutionalised unemployment for East Timorese, and thus made poverty and discontent part of the culture. The need is not only a matter of replacing Indonesians with East Timorese, but ensuring the East Timorese have the skills.

- 1. Establish an East Timor Government Employment Service.
- 2. Give high priority to finding employment for graduates of:
 - a) senior high schools
 - b) universities and other tertiary institutions
- 3. Give particular help to urban people of low skills and literacy levels, so that they regain their self-respect, contribute to society, and help their families. They have suffered considerably from war, ill-treatment, resettlement and no schooling.
- 4. Arrange all subsidies payable to people in education, health and other fields.
- 5. Oversight the welfare of all citizens.
- 6. Don't give government welfare payments, as is the case in many Western countries.
- 7. Don't give pensions or rice allowances to public servants, as is the case in Indonesia
- 8. Encourage families to take responsibility for their own welfare.
- 9. The reasons for "no welfare" are:
 - a) government will be unable to afford welfare
 - b) government will contribute to the welfare of people through the provision of large subsidies for education and health

4. Development

Indonesian emphasis on infrastructural development for the sake of military security and nation-building must give way to a new style of development, which is for the sake of the livelihood of the people. Development must be people-oriented, not nation-oriented.

- 1. Establish an East Timor Planning Board. In the early stages of development this might benefit from the presence of representatives, not only from the government, but also from:
 - a) other political parties
 - b) district councils
 - c) non-government organisations
 - d) foreign consultants

so that development becomes a nationally determined agenda, not subject to sectional interests.

2. Make development planning a mixture of national planning (macro) and village development planning (micro). All villages to develop "Village Development Councils" which determine their own development plans. All village plans are then combined, and added to the macro national plan.

3. Establish main targets for macro-development and export as:

- a) oil
- b) coffee
- b) tourism

4. Encourage the work of non government organisations which are directed towards development, and make plans which encompass them. Development should be a partnership between Government and NGOs.

5. All development should be ecologically sustainable.

5. *Agriculture, animal husbandry, and fisheries*

1. Aim to diversify agricultural crops and stock, both at the level of the individual farmer, and nationally. This will be a precaution against droughts and animal diseases.

2. Emphasise dry land cropping. The Indonesians have emphasised wet rice production, which helps the few, but ignores the many.

3. Aim to increase yields of crops - rice, corn, soy beans, mung beans, vegetables, fruit

4. Aim to increase yield of tree crops - coffee, coconuts & copra, candlenuts, kapok

5. Resurrect the sandalwood industry which died after all sandalwood trees became Indonesian government property. Return the sandalwood trees to the people, but introduce and police strict regulations about felling and export.

6. Initiate an export drive for - coffee, copra, mung beans. Coffee has huge potential to become a major export industry, as it was under the Portuguese. The Indonesian seizure of all coffee plantations prevented export and profit for the people. This must be reversed.

7. Develop new crops eg cloves, cashew nuts, vanilla, cacao

8. Establish in each of the 13 administrative districts:

a) model "farms"

b) model stock breeding projects - cattle, pigs, goats, sheep, ducks, chickens

9. Develop cattle and chicken fodder industries - for home and export consumption. Silage made from native East Timor grasses can be used to increase beef cattle yields.

10. Increase the capacity of the fishing industries - both sea and inland (aquaculture).

11. Assess the potential for pearling farms. They are successful in nearby places - in West Flores and North Maluku (both in eastern Indonesia), and in Darwin (northern Australia).

12. Assess the potential of permaculture, using the experiment at Soibada as a base.

6. *Water and Power*

1. Develop a major Water and Sanitation Programme. Clean water and sanitation is fundamental to individual health, community health, washing and food production. Some water has already been provided by NGOs. Encourage them to continue this work, but in view of the resettlement of 80% of the population after the 1970s war, there are still large parts of East Timor which completely lack water. Typically rural people walk between 2 and 6 kilometres per day for water.

2. Make the provision of clean water and sanitation a coordinated undertaking between government and NGOs.

3. Possible targets are, that within 5 years:

a) each of the 442 villages in East Timor has a minimum of one public place for laundry, bathing/showering, and toilet.

b) no villager need walk more than 500 metres to get water (total of 1 kilometre there and back).

2. Have no armed forces of any kind. This will save money (cf Australia spends 8% of budget on defence, Singapore about 20%).
3. Sign international treaties concerning human rights and the environment.

10. Finance

a) Budget

Reflecting the priority given to education, health, employment/social support, and development:

1. 15% - education
2. 15% - health
3. 5% - employment and social support
4. 20% - development (all areas)
5. Nothing for defence

b) Taxation

1. Develop a tax system which derives the largest part of its income from the following internal East Timor sources:

- a) income tax
- b) sales tax on alcohol, tobacco, fuel, manufactured goods
- c) company tax, with higher levies on foreign companies than on East Timorese companies.
- d) Mining levies

c) Banking

1. Establish a government-owned "Bank of East Timor" for the issue of an East Timorese currency, advice to the government, and to ensure that the currency remains stable.
2. Allow the Indonesian banks currently working in East Timor to continue to operate, however other banks from other countries might also be allowed entry.
3. Establish government requirements for all foreign banks operating in East Timor.
4. Establish a "local staff employment" policy for all foreign banks operating in East Timor. This might contain 5 year and 10 year targets.
5. Encourage banks to make small loans to small people, with minimum bureaucracy.

d) Currency

1. Establish an East Timor currency

e) Auditing

1. Establish an East Timorese Auditing Office, with responsibility for accounting for and auditing of all government finance, at both the Central government level, and District government level.

11. Law

1. Establish an independent commission to appoint magistrates and judges. Its neutrality must be guaranteed by government.
2. Introduce a jury system for criminal cases.
3. Open law courts to the public.
4. Adopt the law code of another country (Australia ? Portugal ?) although Indonesian law may be used for a one year period, as an interim measure.
5. Give local customary East Timorese law a recognised position in the law code.
6. Establish an East Timorese Police Force. Only ET nationals to be members.
7. Establish an East Timor Police College.
8. Exercise strict vigilance and penalties against police who engage in bribery.
9. Ban the ownership and use of all firearms. Police not to carry firearms, though they may have them for emergencies.

10. Establish an East Timorese Security Intelligence Service. Indonesian actions against the interests of the East Timorese need to be detected. Infiltration of Indonesian intelligence and military personnel, must be detected.

11. Establish an East Timorese Commission against Corruption, for the sake of exercising vigilance against corruption amongst East Timorese, permanent residents, and non-citizens who are working in East Timor on visas.

12. Develop an East Timorese Code of Proper Business Practice (Anti-Corruption)

13. Exercise careful police vigilance against:

a) environmental crime (eg sandalwood smuggling, logging, game shooting, polluting waterways)

b) violent crime (eg murder, manslaughter, assault, sexual assault, rape, kidnapping, abduction, armed hold-ups, robbery, extortion).

c) property crime (eg weapons-possession, arson, burglary, fraud, vandalism).

14. Establish an Office of Ombudsman, to protect the rights and interests of the East Timorese public against the East Timor government.

15. Grant an amnesty for all prisoners, or, a reduction in length of sentence.

16. Reduce the numbers of prisoners. Give emphasis to re-socialisation and community work. Endeavour to reduce the number of prisons.

17. Establish a Commission for Reconciliation

12. Migration

1. Set strict criteria, in the ET national interest, for migration from Indonesia.

2. Repatriate (send home) the following Indonesians:

a) unemployed

b) public servants

c) prostitutes

3. Establish a "permanent residence" status, with strict criteria, to encompass Indonesians in the following categories:

a) professionals (lawyers, teachers, lecturers, doctors)

b) private employees (eg contractors, restaurant owners)

c) self employed (eg travelling food-vendors)

d) priests, monks, nuns (depending on past history of attitude towards ET and Indonesia)

e) official transmigrants (though incentives or compensation could be given to return to Indonesia).

f) property owners

4. Issue special temporary visas to non-Indonesian and non-East Timorese priests, monks, nuns. (eg Europeans, Chinese)

5. Grant citizenship to long-term (pre 1975) Chinese families.

6. Tourists are to obtain a 2 month tourist visa for entry to ET, though tourists from certain countries will be exempt.

7. Place restrictions on foreign businesses, according to past history of attitude towards ET and Indonesia.

8. Accept as citizens East Timorese people returning from abroad.

13. Land

1. Establish an East Timor Land Board for the sake of:

a) Determining who were original land owners before Indonesian occupation.

b) Re-settling East Timorese people to land owned by them, prior to Indonesian village resettlement in the 1970s and 1980s.

c) Returning to original owners any land that was taken by force during the period of Indonesian occupation.

d) Establishing title deeds for East Timorese land owners.

e) Determining transmigration areas - current ones and new ones - for East Timorese people (eg people who want to move from Dili to Covalima).

- f) Determining criteria for land ownership and renting by foreigners.

14. Environment

1. Establish strict policing and penalties for:
 - a) Tree-felling (slash and burn)
 - c) Killing of wild animals and birds
2. Establish protection for all flora, fauna and birds
3. Eradicate widespread exotic weeds e.g mimosa pigra
4. Establish a Landcare programme and an anti-erosion programme
5. Establish National Parks (for sake of conservation, and tourism).

15. Business

1. Establish a Small Business Advisory Council to give advice and financial training to East Timorese, so that they can set up and run profitable businesses, in competition with those migrant businesses (eg from Makassar, Java) that are still permitted to operate in East Timor.
2. Establish a Securities Commission to monitor the performance of foreign companies. Develop strict guidelines.
3. Establish the East Timor Business Office to monitor the performance of non-registered businesses.

16. Transport and Communication

1. Establish an East Timorese Post Office
2. Establish an East Timorese Telcom
3. Subsidise a number of private bus companies, under prescribed operating conditions.
4. Encourage air services by foreign carriers, whether Indonesian, Australian, Filipino, Singaporean, whether government or private. Possible routes are:
 - a) Australia/Philippines: Darwin - Dili - Davao
 - b) Indonesia: Dili - Kupang - Bali - Surabaya
 - c) Internal East Timor: Baucau - Dili - Atambua - Suai - Dili

17. Local Government

1. Grant definable powers to each district legislative council, in each of the present 13 kabupatens. These should have powers which cannot be overridden by the central government in Dili, unless they oppose the national interest of East Timor.
2. Give a financial allocation to each district legislative council from the central government in Dili. This allocation should be reached after a process of negotiation between Dili and the local district council. It should not be a one-sided decision from Dili.
3. Enforce strict ET Government accountability procedures on the councils.
4. Determine how the members of the district legislative council are to be elected. This is a political decision - to be made by those determining the form of government.
5. Grant to each district legislative council responsibility for the sub-districts and villages in their district. This responsibility will cover staffing, financial allocations and accountability, and development programmes.
6. Develop cooperative links between central government in Dili and the 13 district legislative councils, for the sake of coordinating the work of the Village Development Councils.

18. Culture, Youth, Sport, Media

1. Develop maintenance plans for all local languages
2. Develop quality cottage industries, in order to stimulate pride and money for local people.
3. Develop facilities and competition in soccer, basketball, volleyball, boxing, martial arts
4. Establish an East Timor Broadcasting Commission, for television and radio.

19. Religion

1. Make East Timor a multi-religious society.
2. Develop a government registration system for all religions and religious sects which wish to practise their faith in East Timor.
3. Consider the introduction of regulations which prevent religious conversion or proselytisation between religions. This means that adherents of religion X are preventing from persuading adherents of religion Y to join X.

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Compiled by David Odling-Smee